

## Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY VALLETTA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6677

C O N F I D E N T I A L VALLETTA 0244

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, PFOR, MT

SUBJ: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: MALTESE POLICY-MAKING  
AND OBJECTIVES

EF: STATE 37591

1. THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE MALTESE GOVERNMENT BEGINS AND ENDS WITH PRIME MINISTER DOM MINTOFF (WHO ALSO IS MINISTER OF COMMONWEALTH AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS). MINTOFF SHARES HIS POLICY-MAKING ACTIVITIES WITH VIRTUALLY NO ONE. THREE OTHER OFFICIALS ARE GENERALLY PRIVY TO MINTOFF'S THINKING ON MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS, BUT MORE IN THE ROLE OF POLICY EXECUTORS THAN FORMULATORS. THESE ARE (1) ROVING AMBASSADOR JOSEPH ATTARD KINGSWELL (WHO IS ACCREDITED TO THE UNITED STATES, THE EC AND THE UNITED NATIONS, BUT WHO SPENDS LITTLE TIME EITHER IN WASHINGTON OR NEW YORK);

(2) MAURICE ABELA, PERMANENT SECRETARY OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY IN VALLETTA; AND (3) ATTORNEY GENERAL EDGAR MIZZI, A CLOSE CONFIDANT AND ACROSS-THE-BOARD ADVISOR TO MINTOFF. THE MALTESE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES IN NEW YORK, VCTOR GAUCI (FORMERLY PERMANENT MALTESE DELEGATE TO THE UN AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN GENEVA), IS UNDER DIRECT INSTRUCTIONS FROM PRIME  
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MINISTER MINTOFF ON ALL MAJOR ISSUES WHEN REPRESENTING

MALTA AT THE VARIOUS NEW YORK MEETINGS.

2. THE AMBASSADOR MAINTAINS A CONTINUING DIALOGUE HERE WITH AMBASSADOR ATTARD KINGSWELL AND FOREIGN SECRETARY ABELA ON MULTILATERAL ASFAIRS. WE HAVE FOUND ATTORNEY GENERAL MIZZI PARTICULARLY HELPFUL ON BILATEAL ISSUES. KEY MULTILATERAL QUESTIONS OF INTEREST TO THE USG ARE DISCUSSED WITH THESE OFFICIALS BY THE AMBASSADOR (AS THE OCCASION WARRANTS) ON A YEAR-ROUND BASIS TO ASSURE THAT US THINKING ON THESE ISSUES IS BROUGHT TO THE GOM'S (IE.E. MINTOFF'S) ATTENTION. HOWEVER, WE SHOULD NOT PRETEND THAT MINTOFF'S DECISIONS ARE OFTEN, IF EVER, SWAYED BY SUCH PRESENTATIONS OF USG POSITIONS. GOM POLICIES IN THE MULTILATERAL FIELD ARE INEVITABLY DETERMINED BY MINTOFF'S OWN PERSONAL VERSION OF "NEUTALISM" THE "NON-ALIGNMENT," AND BY HIS UNCEASING EFFORTS TO COURT THE THIRD WORLD AND SUCH DISPARATE "FRIENDS" OF MALTA AS THE CHINESE, THE NORTH KOREANS, AND THE LIBYANS WHO HELP TO BANKROLL HIS PLANS FOR MALTESE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. AS A RESULT, MALTA RARELY VOTES WITH THE US IN NEW YORK, AND THIS IS UNLIKELY TO CHANGE AS LONG AS MINTOFF IS PRIME MINISTER.

3. WITHIN THIS CONTEXT, THE FOLLOWING ARE THE EMBASSY'S RESPONSES TO THE QUESTIONS INCLUDED IN REFTEL:

(A) MALTA HAS ALREADY EXPRESSED TO THE WEOLROUI IN NEW YORK AS INTEREST IN BEING ELECTED TO ECOSOC IN 1977. IN ADDITION, NOW THAT MALTA HAS BEEN ADMITTED TO MEMBERSHIP IN THE GROUP OF 77, IT IS PROBABLE THAT THE MALTESE WILL RENEW THEIR EFFORTS TO SUPPLANT JAMAICA AS THE GROUP'S NOMINEE FOR THE SITE OF THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE UN SEABED AUTHORITY. WE WOULD NOT EXPECT MALTA TO TAKE ANY MAJOR INITIATIVES IN OTHER AREAS (ON EITHER SUBSTANTIVE OR ADMINISTRATIVE ISSUES) DURING THE COMING YEAR.

(B) OTHER THAN THE OVERRIDING QUESTION OF  
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SELF-INTEREST, WHICH IS ALWAYS PARAMOUNT IN MINTOFF'S MIND, MALTA IS INFLUENCED IN ALL MULTILATERAL DECISIONS BY THE POSITIONS OF THE NON-ALIGNED GROUP AND THE GROUP OF 77. MALTA IS STRONGLY (AND PUBLICLY) PRO-ARAB ON ALL ARAB-ISRAELI MATTERS. MALTA SELDOM TAKES THE LEAD ON SUCH ISSUES; IT IS USUALLY A FOLLOWER. MINTOFF PROFESSES TO HAVE "GREAT INFLUENCE" IN THE ARAB WORLD, BUT WE SEE NO EVIDENCE THAT THIS

IS REALLY THE CASE.

(C) MINTOFF ALWAYS ASSURES THAT MALTESE DELEGATIONS TO INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS FOLLOW HIS INSTRUCTIONS. ANY SIGNIFICANT QUESTION IS REPORTED BACK TO MALTA FOR CONFIRMATION OR DECISION BY THE PRIME MINISTER. WHEN HEADING MALTESE DELEGATIONS ABROAD, AMBASSADOR ATTARD KINGSWELL REMAINS IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH MINTOFF BY TELEX AND TELEPHONE.

(D) AS IN (C) ABOVE, THE MALTESE HEAD OF DELEGATION IN NEW YORK, GENEVA, OR ELSEWHERE IS COMPLETELY WITHOUT INDEPENDENT POLITICAL POWER OR AUTHORITY. THEY FOLLOW MINTOFF'S ORDERS FULLY AND EXPLICITLY.

(E) WHILE GOM OFFICIALS ALWAYS GIVE A POLITE HEARING TO OUR PRESENTATIONS OF US VIEWS ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES AND APPEAR TO ACCEPT SUCH INTERACTION AS NORMAL, THE RESULTS HAVE BEEN MINIMAL. THE GOM RARELY SEEKS USG SUPPORT THROUGH THE EMBASSY FOR ITS OWN MULTILATERAL POLICIES.

4. COMMENT: WE HAVE LITTLE OR NO LEVERAGE ON THE MALTESE IN MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS, AND AS LONG AS MINTOFF IS IN POWER WE MUST EXPECT THE GOM TO CONTINUE TO VOTE AGAINST US ON MOST ISSUES IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. WE WILL KEEP TRYING, BUT THE RESULTS WILL REMAIN MEAGER. IN THIS SMALL EMBASSY, THE DCM WILL ACT AS OFFICIAL MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS OFFICER (MLP). HOWEVER, AS INDICATED ABOVE, THE AMBASSADOR IS MORE OFTEN THE ACTION  
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OFFICER WITH THE GOM IN THIS AREA. SMITH

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